171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane
[237] shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

855 [784] respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer 853 [114] [171] than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's [171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one 513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed 301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make 854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are [422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect 854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the adults than among us and are never different in type from the work of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman s sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for 241 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 616 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 476 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592